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THE ROCK WITH THE HEART OF STONE

At Christmas, 1954, Warden Swope of Alcatraz Island agreed that the children of Morton Sobell, serving a 30-year sentence for alleged complicity with the Rosenbergs, might visit him this year. Warden Swope meanwhile was replaced by Paul J. Madigan. When Helen Sobell arrived with Mark, 5, on Jan. 26 for the promised visit, a guard at the boat landing handed her a note from Warden Madigan. It said simply: "Your visit today cannot be granted." Mrs. Sobell protested by telephone but Madigan said he was returning to the long-standing Alcatraz policy of not permitting visits by small children. When the prison boat left without them, Mark wept bitterly, asked his mother: "Didn't you have enough money for the boat?"

THE MATUSOW SENSATION

Star FBI informer admits lies, perils stable of stoolies

HARVEY M. MATUSOW, youngest, busiest and most ambitious of the Justice Dept.'s hired informers, and a former aide to Sen. Joe McCarthy, last week publicly confessed that he has been a liar and given false testimony in court. In two criminal cases at which he appeared as a star government witness he filed affidavits swearing that his testimony was false; in one he charged that Roy M. Cohn as an assistant U.S. Attorney coached him in testimony that "was created for the purpose of the trial."

In addition to the affidavits, Matusow was to appear at a press conference Feb. 3 called by the publishing firm of Cameron and Kahn to announce publication of his detailed confession in a book titled **False Witness.** Columnist Stewart Alsop, who has read an advance draft of the manuscript, predicted on Jan. 28 that it "may cause major explosions" and said the revelations are "likely to initiate a serious investigation of this new postwar profession of the informer. . . ."

Matusow has said that he would welcome an investigation but has suggested wryly that it should be conducted by some agency more impartial than the Dept. of Justice.

NEW TRIAL FOR 13? On Monday, Jan. 31, Mrs. Mary M. Kaufman, one of defense counsel for 13 Communist leaders convicted under the Smith Act in 1952 (12 are now serving sentences of one to three years), moved for a new trial on the basis of a Matusow affidavit in which he states:

> "The matters I testified to were either false or not entirely true and were known to me to be either false or not entirely true, at the time I so testified."

Federal Judge Edward J. Dimock, who presided at the trial, set Wed., Feb. 2, for a hearing on the motion. Mrs. Kaufman called Matusow's testimony "inflammatory" and said that without it "the jury would probably have acquitted."

In his affidavit Matusow charges that Roy Cohn was anxious to "connect" the defendants with a certain book:

> "Cohn pointed to a passage in the book and told me that that passage was important in proving the Government's case. He then asked me if I had discussed anything with [Alexander] Trachtenberg which would tie

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FORMOSA: A ROUNDUP REPORT

Congress OK's 'blank check' as world stands aghast

By Kumar Goshal

AS the UN Security Council voted to invite Peking to its discussion on a cease-fire in the Formosa Strait, an anxious world watched the Far Eastern pot simmer, offering a variety of analyses and solutions. Before the UN invitation, the U.S. Congress with unseemly haste endorsed President Eisenhower's request for "a blank check" in the Formosa Strait.

There was some opposition—more in the Senate than in the House. I. F. Stone in his **Weekly** (1/31) described the House as apparently ready

> ". . . to go to war with the H-bomb as cave-men were a few milleniums ago with a club. The same mindless enthusiasm [and] fake gravity [and] cowardice on the part of the few thoughtful, which can be matched on the eve of every war, were here in evidence. . . . Winstead [of Mississippi] said 'Christianity, Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights are seriously threatened. . . .' [S. Carolina's] Rivers said he was voting to let the President use nuclear weapons 'and I hope he will start at Peking and work right down. . . . We can roam the skies of China and Russia at will. . . . And old Curtis Le May [Strategic Air Command Chief], just untie his hands and he will level them.' Thus we prepared to enforce the finer Christian virtues."

A CHOICE OF LEGALISMS: In the Senate, which voted 85 to 3, besides the eloquent opposition (see p. 4) of Sen. Wayne Morse (Ind.-Ore.), Sen. Flanders (R-Vt.) commented: "Put in plain English, this is preventive war."

Those who supported Washington's stand on Formosa were too twisted in tortuous reasoning to agree among themselves about their analyses. All

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FORMOSA: AN ANALYSIS

Is U.S. heading for war or 'disguising a retreat'?

By Tabitha Petran

WASHINGTON is trying to untie the strait-jacket in which its bankrupt Far East Policy has bound it. But whether it was heading for a war "solution" or seeking to "disguise a retreat" (N.Y. **Post,** 1/29) was still not clear last week—perhaps even in its own divided councils.

The British Foreign Office, in contradiction to Sen. Knowland, insists the Administration wants to shift its China policy toward eventual co-existence. If so the President's Congress-approved "advance declaration of war" message, coupled with such moves as the massing of the fleet in Formosa Strait and the 300-plane U.S. Air Force demonstration over China on Jan. 26, have made such a retreat even more difficult than before. Walter Lippmann (2/1) warned:

> "There is danger of hostilities of which no one could see the end, once they had begun. . . . Our case has not been well worked out and stated and we are not invulnerable. Let no one suppose that another blistering statement by Sen. Knowland or by an admiral can do anything but magnify the danger and compound the difficulties of our position."

TWO DIRECTIONS: Last year's Geneva conference faced Washington with the choice: retreat or war in the Far East, a decision it could not long postpone. Refusing to retreat, it has put off decision. It remains split on "retreat or war," with Joint Chiefs Radford, Twining and Carney, top U.S. Far East commanders, the Knowland group in Congress, Asst. Secy. of State for the

(Continued on Page 6)

Vicky in Daily Mirror, London
The other Great Wall of China

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Not worth the blood

RANSOMVILLE, N.C.

Copy of a letter to President Eisenhower:

"Your moves in the Pacific are like a terrible nightmare. By ordering the U.S. Navy away from the China conflict you can save millions of human lives. Your present moves are literally signing the death warrant of millions, including many Americans. The immediate fate of humanity is in your hands. Do you deny that, by leaving China alone, you can relieve the immediate threat of a major world disaster?

"If you proceed to mass murder when you have the power to save millions of our human companions, are you not the arch-fiend of all history? Chiang is not worth the blood of a single youthful, pulsating American sailor. Stop meddling! Let the Chinese decide the fate of China! Bring our fleet home to defend our own shores! It is better to build America than to blast humanity! Dare you set off the chain reaction of human destruction when you can save the world?" Vernon Ward

The cease-fire move

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Any move to stop a war, be it large or small, has merit and should not be unreasonably opposed. The proposal for a cease-fire between the American-supported Chiang Kai-shek forces on Formosa and those of the government of the People's Republic of China falls within that category.

Nevertheless it is a move being advocated by the very government responsible for maintaining a well-armed and financed, unscrupulous band of troublemakers deservedly repudiated and routed in 1948 by a large majority of the Chinese people. Therefore, it is downright dishonest for the American government to go on insisting that such a band is truly "a government" of a sovereign nation.

Let a cease-fire be arranged by the UN—but the American people should demand that their government stays out of any part of China's territory as an act of historic justice. A. Garcia Diaz

How crazy can you get dept.

OKLAHOMA CITY, Jan. 25 (UP) — A railroad man's wife who holds the title of "Queen of the Nudists" in the Midwest told a committee of the Oklahoma Legislature today that planned nakedness benefits both health and morals. . . . A bill has been proposed to outlaw it. . . . The queen is Mrs. Maria Park, 35, of Newton, Kan . . . The Rev. Braxton B. Sawyer of Fort Smith, Ark. . . . [is] the main witness for the bill. . . . Mrs. Park said the reverend has "implied" that Communists are interested in nudism more than other people. But she said would-be nudists are screened "to make sure they are good American citizens."

—Cleveland Plain Dealer, Jan. 26.

One-year free sub to sender of each item published under this heading. Winner: M. Nearing Cleveland.

Psalms, 49:20

DRY BRANCH, W. VA.

Why draft a law to catch all our young men into an armed force? When anyone with a dog's brain knows there is not any defense against H-bombs. Economic troubles at home are besetting the rulers of this nation. Yes, I said rules, for they are not the people's helpers or servants.

Man that is in honor, and understandeth not, is like the beasts that perish: PSALMS, 49:20.

C. E. Bryant

Unblushing remark

SCAPPOOSE, ORE.

Elsie Cora ALLRED, who recently changed her name to ALLGOOD, may become ALLRED again—when she gets hit by the onrushing IKE DEPRESSION. Vincent Nega

Pacific H-bombs

TOKYO, JAPAN

It is our great pleasure that a few weeks ago an American woman, Mrs. Alice F. Bryant of American Friends Service Committee of Seattle brought here an unofficial document which expresses the regret of Americans for the damage caused by the Bikini H-bomb tests last spring. The apology, signed by many thousands of Americans, says: "We feel nationally responsible that these explosions contaminated a part of the important seafood supply of Japan and other countries and seriously injured the health of the crew of the Lucky Dragon and a larger number of Marshall Islanders. We sincerely apologize to the people of Japan and the Marshall Islands for having caused this harm; and we call upon all governments in the future to refrain from experiments which may endanger the health and food supply of their own citizens or other people."

And according to the Asahi Evening News (Nov. 24) of Tokyo, Mrs. Bryant said: "Many of my fellow Americans have written to thank me for giving them this opportunity to express their feelings, and have said that their prayers go with me in this undertaking. Many of us deplore the policies which are making us unpopular here, and we are trying to get our leaders to adopt a more constructive foreign policy."

As you know, the U.S. Government has never expressed its sincere regret for the H-bomb terror in the Pacific, nor offered money enough to compensate for the great damage our nation suffered. In addition, it dares to declare its policy to continue H-bomb tests in the Pacific. Such H-bomb policy waged by the U.S. authorities will not promote Japanese-American relations. Already over 20,000,000 Japanese people signed a demand for a ban on the test and manufacture of H- and A-weapons. Thus, if there should be any measure to promote true Japanese-American friendship, it is only through both peoples' common efforts like Mrs. Bryant's work.

Shingo Shibata
Sociology Dept., Hosei University

The secret was out

WEST HAVEN, CONN.

Most of the public has forgotten that Maj. Gen. Leslie R. Groves, to whom the General Staff had confided the keeping of the secrets of the atomic bomb, gave the secrets to the world Aug. 7, 1945, the day after the bomb was dropped on Hiroshima. Prof. Henry Smyth of Princeton University prepared a secret report detailing in minute and scientific fashion the carefully guarded secrets.

Gen. Groves called a press conference at the Pentagon and handed copies of the Smyth report to all who attended; press and radio reports, founded on the Smyth report made the secrets public in great detail. (Pentagon Politics, by William Neblett).

I wonder why didn't anyone of those who got the report testify about it at the Rosenberg or Hiss trials? M. R.

Wall Street Journal

"You realize, of course, that this is strictly off the record."

After 179 years

COLUMBUS, O.

Enclosed please find check for $1.50 for Seeds of Destruction, by Cedric Belfrage, who seems to be the 20th century version of Thomas Paine the Englishman who put the U.S. on the map and framed the Constitution.

Fortunately the kings and "popentates" of Europe did not have the atom bomb—nor did they think of holding Long Island as a Formosa from which to bully and threaten the infant U.S.

It is shockingly sad that after 179 years of striving to become the light of the world, we find ourselves back to a "time that tries men's souls," when unscrupulous politicians and racketeers seem determined to destroy the dignity of man and sell him back into the ignorance and slavery of medieval times. J. B.

Carl Braden replies

LOUISVILLE, KY.

I saw Carl today (Jan. 30) for the first time since he was moved from the Jefferson County Jail to the Kentucky State Reformatory at LaGrange, Ky., as he was not allowed to have visitors for the first 10 days.

He asked me to write to you to thank the people who have written to him and sent him contributions, and explain to them that he is not allowed to write to anyone but three relatives and so cannot acknowledge their communications. I am sure those who have written must realize how much he appreciates these letters; it is the knowledge that you are not alone that makes prison walls seem unimportant.

Carl was in excellent spirits and confident that we will win this fight.

Anne Braden
P.O. Box 1302

Question

PAHOKEE, FLA.

Is there any record before of a people who hated another so bad that they wanted to destroy them, even knowing that thereby they themselves would be annihilated? Of course there is the story of the Kilkenny cats. B. E. Boe

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REPORT TO READERS

The date was June 27, 1950, and the words were prophetic

"FORMOSA IS AS MUCH A PART OF CHINA as Staten Island is a part of New York. Here we are told that the U.S. Fleet is to interfere and attempt to stop the people of China from carrying out their own will in their own country!"

Do you remember these words, and who spoke them, and when?

Vito Marcantonio spoke them in the House of Representatives on June 27, 1950, when his was the lone voice against the disastrous intervention in Korea. He said more that day, and here is some of it:

"On Feb. 7 [1950] I pointed out . . . that you cannot split into two countries a nation which is an ethnic unity, a people united culturally and racially over centuries. But we tried to do it. The United Nations itself recognized that that could not be done, and set up a commission to bring about a united Korea. The tyrannical rulers of South Korea ruthlessly suppressed every endeavor on the part of the people to achieve this objective and thus created an irrepressible conflict. . . .

"Oh yes, you can keep on making impassioned pleas for the destruction of communism but I tell you that the issue in China, in Asia, in Korea and in Viet Nam is the right of these peoples to independence and national unity. . . .

"I shall do all that I can—alone perhaps, but living with my conscience—to oppose this course which is not in the defense of the best interests of the American people."

AS UNERRINGLY as he foresaw the Korean conflict months before it was precipitated, Marc saw the disaster ahead in Truman's course in Korea and Formosa. No other voice in American public life, then or now, has stated the issues so clearly. No other voice has so clearly set forth the way of honor and real security for our country in a world shaking itself free from colonialism and inequality.

HAVE WE FORGOTTEN MARC today, when these issues confront us again (as he said they would) and no one speaks so honorably?

It does seem that we have. Last month all GUARDIAN subscribers received a letter from Dr. W. E. B. DuBois inviting support for the Vito Marcantonio Memorial—to publish his historic addresses on all the great issues of the last 20 years, to set up scholarships, to carry on his work and to help make his high standards those of all government in our country.

To date only some 600 have responded—in N.Y.C. and State only 250; about half that from Calif.; only scattered responses from Conn., Mass., N.J., Ohio and D.C. Responses have come by ones and twos from a total of 35 states, some of them in the deep south, where there has not been a progressive movement since 1948.

WE URGE YOUR RESPONSE—and we think it should also be forthcoming; unless this shining example of true democratic representation of all the people all the time is to lie buried with the mortal remains of a life given in its prime for all that we say we stand for.

—THE EDITORS.

Address your contribution to Vito Marcantonio Memorial, 1484 First Av., New York 21, N.Y.

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"WE MUST BREAK OUT OF THE STRAITJACKET OF THE PAST"

Gen. MacArthur's call for the abolition of war

EDITORIAL comments were few and cautious on Gen. MacArthur's Los Angeles speech on Jan. 27. The N. Y. **Herald Tribune** said MacArthur had "never seemed a grander figure. From that height one returns to immediate problems such as the Red threat to Formosa. There is no hope for solving it by a simple abolition of war." The N. Y. **World-Telegram** said: "Our readiness to abolish war has been proclaimed repeatedly and insistently—once again by President Eisenhower as late as this month. . . . The answer lies in a miracle of which the world, as yet, has no inkling." The **Wall St. Journal** found it "hard to see what would be accomplished. . . . The Soviet Union might well enter into such an agreement [but] that would mean nothing. . . ." The Madison (Wis.) **Capital Times**, recalling that MacArthur "was doing his best a few years ago" to get us into war with China, said he was "apparently preparing to make one last stab at politics" and advised him to shut up.

Information the GUARDIAN believes reliable does not indicate that MacArthur had advance consultation with his fellow board members of Remington Rand. This firm has a notorious labor-relations record and profits from "conventional" arms production. Nor does it appear that he can be regarded as speaking for any particular business grouping. In Paris, the progressive daily **Libération** said:

> "Decidedly something has been changed in American opinion, and this old fox of a MacArthur has had no trouble scenting it. A rival of Eisenhower both in glory and in politics, MacArthur proposes to defeat him henceforward on the terrain where he himself had been defeated: that of peace.
>
> "Certainly one swallow, even with a lot of stars, does not make a summer. There are still in the U. S. many military men and many arms merchants who are pushing for war. But the new fact is that the partisans of force and apologists for the H-bomb are losing ground and that the American people seem to be coming to their senses—MacArthur's language proves it—for peace.
>
> "Yet is it not profoundly absurd that this same instant should have been the one chosen by M. Mendes-France to re-instal Frankenstein in his den in Germany?"

Paris' **Le Monde** noted that, according to AP, when MacArthur called for U. S. initiative to abolish war "20 women in the audience fainted."

Here are excerpts of the General's address:

WAR has become a Frankenstein to destroy both sides. No longer is it the weapon of adventure whereby a short cut to international power and wealth—a place in the sun—can be gained. If you lose, you are annihilated. If you win, you stand only to lose. No longer does it possess the chance of the winner of a duel—it contains rather the germs of double suicide. Science has clearly outmoded it as a feasible arbiter.

Escaro in Liberation, Paris

"MY NAME IS DOUGLAS MacPEACE"

The great question is—does this mean that war can now be outlawed from the world? If so, it would mark the greatest advance in civilization since the Sermon on the Mount. It would lift at one stroke the darkest shadow which has engulfed mankind from the beginning. It would not only remove fear and bring security—it would not only create new moral and spiritual values—it would produce an economic wave of prosperity that would raise the world's standard of living beyond anything ever dreamed of by man. The hundreds of billions of dollars now spent in mutual preparedness could conceivably abolish poverty from the face of the globe.

It would accomplish even more than this; it would at one stroke reduce the international tensions that seem so insurmountable now to matters of more probable solution. For instance, the complex problems of German rearmament, of preventive war, of satellite dominance by major powers, of Universal Military Service, of unconscionable taxation, of nuclear development for industry, of freer exchange of goods and people, of foreign aid and, indeed, of all issues involving the application of armed force. It would have equally potent political effects. It would reduce immeasurably the power of leaders of Government and thus render more precarious totalitarian or autocratic rule. . . .

IT IS no longer an ethical equation to be pondered solely by learned philosophers and ecclesiastics, but a hard-core one for the decision of the masses whose survival is the issue. This is as true of the Soviet side of the world as of the free side—as true behind the Iron Curtain as in front of it. . . .

The leaders are the laggards. . . . Never do they dare to state the bald truth, that the next great advance in the evolution of civilization cannot take place until war is abolished. It may take another cataclysm of destruction to prove to them this simple truth. But, strange as it may seem, it is known now by all common men. It is the one issue upon which both sides can agree, for it is the one issue upon which both sides will profit equally. It is the one issue—and the only decisive one—in which the interests of both are completely parallel. It is the one issue which, if settled, might settle all others. . . .

It is now no longer convincing to argue, whether true or not, that we cannot trust the other side. . . . It would not necessarily require international inspection of relative armaments—the public opinion of every part of the world would be the great denominator which would insure the issue—each nation would so profit that it could not fail eventually to comply. . . . It would not mean utopia at one fell stroke, but it would mean that the great roadblock now existing to development of the human race would have been cleared.

THE present tensions with their threat of national annihilation are kept alive by two great illusions. The one, a complete belief on the part of the Soviet world that the capitalist countries are preparing to attack them; that sooner or later we intend to strike. And the other, a complete belief on the part of the capitalistic countries that the Soviets are preparing to attack us; that sooner or later they intend to strike. Both are wrong. Each side, so far as the masses are concerned, is equally desirous of peace. For either side war with the other would mean nothing but disaster. Both equally dread it. But the constant acceleration of preparation may well, without specific intent, ultimately produce a spontaneous combustion. . . .

We are told we must go on indefinitely as at present—some say 50 years or more. With what at the end? None say; there is no definite objective. They but pass along to those that follow the search for a final solution. And, at the end, the problem will be exactly the same as we face now. . . .

Must we fight again before we learn? When will some great figure in power have sufficient imagination and moral courage to translate this universal wish—which is rapidly becoming a universal necessity—into actuality? We are in a new era. The old methods and solutions no longer suffice. We must have new thoughts, new ideas, new concepts, just as did our venerated forefathers when they faced a new world. We must break out of the straitjacket of the past.

There must always be one to lead, and we should be that one. We should now proclaim our readiness to abolish war in concert with the great powers of the world. The result would be magical. . . .

A STORY THE U. S. PRESS BURIED

10,000 demonstrate outside Commons to protest rearmament of Germany

The "latest Soviet note"—of Jan. 15—referred to below agreed to "internationally supervised" free all-German elections, provided both W. and E. German governments agreed on it. It went a long way toward accepting the Eden plan for German unification presented a year ago in Berlin. This development, virtually suppressed in the U. S., was called "sensational" by W. German Social Democrat leader Ollenhauer and gave a new lift to the fight against rearmament. In London, it caused 12 Attleeite Labour MP's to demand talks with Moscow before any further ratification moves on the Paris accords to rearm W. Germany.

Guardian special correspondent

LONDON

ON Jan. 25, the first day of Parliament, an avalanche of 10,000 people came from every corner of Britain to demonstrate outside the House of Commons against West German rearmament and ask their MP's where they stood on it. Many of the union, street committee and church delegates had traveled all night by train and car or in buses decorated with "No arms for Nazis" banners. By late afternoon a line five deep stretched for hundreds of yards from the House. The police were friendly. Delegates, many elderly and tired, waited up to six hours to get into the lobby.

Some of the MP's were flushed, apologetic and on the defensive; many were obviously moved by the vastness of the demonstration. A few Tories insisted that no matter what their constituents thought they saw a rearmed Germany as a safeguard of peace, but most—both Tory and Labour—agreed the latest Soviet note was a new factor that must be considered. Labour and Co-Operative MP's, defenseless against the charge that by abstaining from the ratification vote they in effect supported German rearmament, agreed that a recall conference of the Labour Party was vital.

THE COPS: At 8 p.m., when six or seven thousand people were outside the House, mounted police arrived and charged into the crowd. Undaunted, the demonstrators formed in procession and marched with their banners through the crowded West End. Then the police charged into them at full gallop.

The demonstration seemed broken up, but 15 minutes later the kilted Scottish band took up a marching tune and the people formed up again, raising their banners, and marched to their meeting place in a square behind the British Museum. The shouts of "No arms for Nazis" rose loud above London's roar of traffic.

Among the many demonstrators your correspondent interviewed were women from blitzed Coventry, Sheffield, Plymouth who lost families in the World War II raids. A group of Sheffield women, all Labour Party members, said: "We sold clothes and ran whist drives to get the money for the fare, and went on the knocker" (British for doorbell-ringing)—collecting contributions from workers, doctors, nurses, teachers, professional and middle-class people.

THE PEOPLE: Others in the multitude were:

- A pale, tired, hungry young girl who, in the W.A.A.F. on bomber command during the war, had the task of telegraphing to relatives of crews of crashed planes; now married with three children, she said: "I must do something to stop it happening again."
- A Catholic from the same town who said: "My wife couldn't come, but she's going to see her bishop and ask what he is doing."
- A priest who was reading his breviary as he waited in the House lobby. He said he had served in the police force in British Guiana and "what I saw there sickened me"; ordained in Canada and now in a parish in badly blitzed Stepney, London, he had waited seven hours for his MP: "To stop German re-armament is God's work."
- An elderly Protestant minister from a Suffolk village: "My parishioners are agricultural folk, not interested in politics, they only want to live in peace—but I'm here to support the magnificent struggle of my Protestant brothers and sisters in West Germany."
- A little Welsh midwife: "Five hundred babies I've brought into the world in the last few years. I give a petition form to every mother. They sign them, of course they do—does a mother with a new baby want war?"
- One of a large group of Scottish miners—still flushed and defiant after hearing his MP try to deny responsibility for the ratification vote. He said that the previous week in his village, at the height of the storms and blizzards, four women—two of them pregnant—went from door to door to get the money for fares; every single villager donated.
- Two Jamaicans with one of the factory delegations from Yorkshire and Derbyshire: "We're all in this together."

The British Peace Committee reported that where factories or pits had promised a dozen delegates, 50 had come; where 50 promised, 100 came. Branches and district committees in most trade unions were represented.

The press described the demonstration as a "communist stunt," reported "reds rioting outside the House of Commons."

Frankfurter Rundschau

THE GUARDIAN ANGEL

Wide open space

DEAR READER . . .

Newspaper angels meet such interesting people. Our own Guardian Angel is no exception. This week's encounter with J. P. Marbles is the first of a continuing series of adventures which will befall the Angel and his pals in this space.

I WANT A SPACE MONOPOLY! SOMEBODY GET THAT EDITORIAL IMP—THAT DINKY PINK!
WORKING ON IT J.P.
WILLCO J.P.
O.K. J.P.
RIGHT J.P.
ROGER J.P.
J. P. MARBLES BANKER
HI-HO MARBLES AND AWAAAYYY
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Matusow sensation

(Continued from Page 1)

him with this passage, and I said, 'No,' I had not. Nevertheless, thereafter, in several sessions with Cohn, we developed the answer which I gave in my testimony, tying Trachtenberg to that passage. We both knew that Trachtenberg had never made the statements which I attributed to him in my testimony."

CONCOCTED CONVERSATION: Of his testimony against another defendant, Beatrice Siskind, he now swears:

"Prior to the time when I took the witness stand I could not have discussed or testified to the answer which was given on the stand. I had informed U.S. Attorney Roy Cohn that I was unable to recall what, if anything, Beatrice Siskind had said in the [study] course. During several sessions I had with Cohn, he helped me formulate the answer which I memorized and gave in my testimony. This testimony was not based on what was actually said by Beatrice Siskind, but was created for the purposes of the trial."

Said Cohn, now in private law practice:

"I will not dignify any statement by this individual with a comment in this Communist move. I interviewed him in the presence of FBI agents along with many others. I left for Europe before I even knew if he was to be a witness."

THE JENCKS CASE: In an earlier affidavit filed Jan. 28 in the U.S. District Court in El Paso, Tex., Matusow swore that he lied when he appeared as a witness against Clinton Jencks, an officer of the independent Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers Union. Jencks was convicted a year ago on two counts

HARVEY MATUSOW
He memorized Roy's words

of falsely signing a Taft-Hartley non-Communist oath. Matusow's affidavit was accompanied by a copy of a letter to him from U.S. Attorney Charles F. Herring, who prosecuted Jencks, saying:

"As you know, your testimony was absolutely essential to a successful prosecution and you presented it in a fine, intelligent manner."

Matusow now swears:

"There was no basis for my stating that Clinton E. Jencks was a member of the Communist Party at the time I stated so in court."

Federal Judge R. E. Thomason has set March 7 for a hearing on a motion for a new trial for Jencks.

HE SPOKE FOR JOE: The 28-year-old Matusow began reporting to the FBI early in 1950 while still a member of the Communist Party, which expelled him in January, 1951. He made his first public appearance as a witness before the House Committee on Un-American Activities early in 1952, has since appeared against innumerable organizations and individuals as a "professional" witness in government pay. He is the first of such government witnesses to denounce himself publicly as having given false testimony.

In the 1952 election campaign he went into Wisconsin to speak on behalf of Joe McCarthy, went on from there to campaign under the auspices of the Republican Natl. Committee, using McCarthy material and McCarthy tactics, in the states of Idaho, Montana, Utah and Washington. Columnist Alsop quotes from the forthcoming book on the Matusow technique against Democratic Sen. Mansfield in Montana:

"As I talked I reached in my brief case, using the same gestures I had seen Sen. McCarthy so frequently use. 'Now I have here in my brief case documented proof. . . .' I pulled out a photostatic copy of an old copy of the Communist Party publication, **New Masses**. The impression was that it contained a by-lined story by Mansfield; that he had written the story and had actively, knowingly supported the Communist Party. But I knew the story was merely a reprint of his remarks in the Congressional Record."

THE "RED" PRESS: He also tells how, at the instigation of McCarthy, he placed in the record of a McCarthy committee hearing "the number of Communists working for the N.Y. **Times** and **Time** magazine." Although he invented that whole story, he writes:

"Once the 'facts' were in the record, McCarthy knew that he could accuse the **Times** and **Time** Magazine, Inc., of being pro-Communist."

Matusow also relates his role in the case of Owen Lattimore, Far Eastern expert still under indictment on several counts of perjury:

"I climaxed my testimony with the dramatic assertion that Owen Lattimore's books were used as the official Communist Party guide on Asia. Once again, I told a complete falsehood."

PROFITABLE BLACKLIST: Other highlights in his career to be revealed in the book include his work as an associate editor of the publication **Counterattack** which, he charges, evolved a way to make money through its development of a blacklist of entertainers; some high-level skulduggery in connection with the disappearance of a witness in one of the many inquiries into McCarthy's affairs; and his experiences with the New York City Board of Education which paid him to "identify" school teachers as "Communists."

Of the book as a whole, columnist Alsop comments:

". . . Matusow's revelation simply cannot be ignored, either by Congress or by the Justice Dept."

The book **False Witness** will be published by Cameron & Kahn in March.

Indiscreet tots dept.

Ten eight-year-old American children, whose fathers are in the U.S. Air Force, were asked to write an essay on why their families are in Britain. . . . Here are some of their answers:

Terry Corbell: "America beat Britain in a war and as a result the U.S.A.F. is now over here. I think it was the first battle they won. The Americans took England."

Rita Williams: "My father is here to make money and to help the Air Force too."

—London **Daily Herald**, Nov. 18, 1954.

VICTORY DINNER FEB. 10

Patterson is free; conviction reversed

CIVIL Rights Congress exec. secy. William L. Patterson last June was found in "contempt" by Federal Judge John F. X. McGohey for not producing records—with names and addresses of CRC supporters—demanded by the Internal Revenue Bureau, which Patterson swore could not be found. He served 90 days in the Danbury federal prison.

In November Patterson was re-imprisoned by Dist. Judge Edward Weinfeld on the same charge. He was in his 69th day of the 90-day sentence at the West St. House of Detention, N.Y.C., when ordered released in a 2-to-1 decision by the U.S. Court of Appeals Jan. 27. The decision said:

"Patterson's own possesion (if he did possess) was undeniably interrupted by his jail sentence from July to September. During that time other officials of the CRC might well have taken it upon themselves to do away with the records. . . . The defendant here can be legally jailed only for a contempt in failing to produce the sought-after books when they are fairly shown to be presently within his power and control. He cannot be legally jailed for contempt for invoking his constitutional privileges not to be a witness against himself."

CRC is celebrating with a Victory Dinner Feb. 10 at Small's Paradise, 2294 7th Av., N.Y.C. Reservations are available from CRC, 6 E. 17th St., N.Y.C. 3.

SENATOR MORSE'S SPEECH ON FORMOSA POLICY

Why not the calculated risk of peace?

Excerpts from Sen. Wayne Morse's speech in the Senate (1/26) on Eisenhower's Formosa resolution:

"MR. PRESIDENT, what confronts us now is not legislation [but] a proposal that, in advance, we give a blank check of approval to the President of the U.S. to do any and all the things permitted to be done under the implications of the resolution. We are being asked in effect to underwrite . . . not only all the words of the resolution, but all the meanings of the resolution to be found between the lines. . . . That is not appropriate under our system of checks and balances. . . . One of the effects of the resolution will be to seal the lips of the elected representatives of the American people with respect to the course of action the President may take. . . .

"My conscience and my convictions shout in my ears a warning that in the course of action proposed now . . . the judgment of millions of people will be that we are . . . going so far as to threaten an act of aggression before an act of war has been committed upon us. . . .

"It would be very easy for the Nationalist Chinese . . . to follow a course of action in the Tachens or in the Matsus or in the Quemoy area which would [drag] us into a war with Red China. . . . I believe that is exactly what [Chiang] would like to have us do. . . . The Nationalist Chinese believe their only hope of survival . . . is to get the U.S. involved in all-out war on the mainland of China. . . .

"I do not feel I can say more on the floor of the Senate by way of documenting that fear without violating . . . security matters. However . . . I shall not be a party to a resolution which . . . places [such] an awful power . . . in the hands of the Nationalist Chinese, with the danger of involving the people of my country in a third world war.

"I THINK the implication of the joint resolution is that we are going to strike on the mainland of China. . . . I do not share the point of view . . . that all would be lost in the Pacific if we lost Formosa. . . .

"I am very much worried about what the final judgment of world public opinion will be. Early indications are that in Asia such public opinion involves a great many reservations about the course of action which is being proposed by the resolution. In our country there can be no question about it. . . . Already . . . we are receiving a considerable number of communications. In my office the communications are overwhelmingly against the adoption of the proposed resolution in its present form. . . .

"We must, of course, take the calculated risks of war. But we must also take the calculated risks of peace. . . . We cannot in good conscience flirt with a defensive war. In my judgment this resolution would legalize the position of the proponents of a preventive war, which has been advocated in this country for the past several years."

NEW WAYS TO BUST UNIONS

The 'loyalty' racket in private industry

By Lawrence Emery

THE concept of "security risk" as applied to government employes is gradually being spread to private industry; some labor leaders are becoming aware that this could be the biggest union-busting scheme of all time. "Loyalty" standards are so broad, they are learning, that an active unionist can be victimized even though he has a long anti-Communist record. Ex-FBI agent Albert J. Tuohy, now Security Director for Republic Aviation, discussed in **Factory Management & Maintenance** (10/54) "What You Can Do About Communists In Industry." His answer:

> "Fire 'em! . . . And that's exactly what we did to 250 of them this year. . . . Of those 250, only 15 were known Communists. No matter. They all get the same treatment."

He pointed out that all "security risks" are "not necessarily subversive, not necessary disloyal," and added:

> "We're alert to which men are becoming prominent in plant organizations ranging from hobby and sport to religious and political groups. We know who is running for office and who has been elected in the various organizations. A quick look through personnel and security files usually tells us all we need to know."

CONTRACT DEMANDED: Sen. Joe McCarthy more than a year ago, in co-operation with General Electric, set up the principle that any defense-industry employe refusing to answer questions before his or similar committees should be fired. Last Dec. 9 Sen. Karl Mundt (R-S.D.)—after committee hearings in Bethlehem, Pa., led to the discharge of several steel workers—said this should be a "warning shot" to manufacturers that they would not qualify for government contracts if they employed "security risks." On Dec. 30 Federal Judge Charles F. McLaughlin, in the case of one of the workers originally fired by GE, ruled that use of the Fifth Amendment by a worker in a defense industry is "obvious cause" for discharge.

Other recent court decisions go even further. In 1949 the president of a union local in California was fired on a Communist charge; an arbitration board found she had been discharged for union activity and ordered her reinstatement; two lower courts upheld this ruling. But on Jan. 20 the California Supreme Court in a 4-3 decision reversed it on the ground that an employer has a right to fire an alleged Communist even in clear violation of its contract with a union. This case may be taken to the Supreme Court.

INFORM OR ELSE: In Detroit on Jan. 14 the CIO United Auto Workers exec. board denounced the "stupidities, injustices and cruelties" of the Defense Dept.'s security procedures. John Lupa, UAW member of Chrysler Arsenal Local 1200, had been suspended the April before but proved before an Army Hearing Board that charges against him were untrue. He was not reinstated pending

Christian Science Monitor
WHICH DO WE WANT?

a review, and early this year—without calling him in his own defense—a review board reversed the acquittal and ordered him fired. The UAW hinted he was discharged less for any offense charged against him than for his refusal to "inform":

> "To what extent is the FBI recruiting informers among persons immediately threatened with economic and social ruin by being charged as security risks, on the implied or actual promise of immunity and protection?"

Currently the Coast Guard is planning to extend its screening procedures of merchant seamen by setting up impossible phyical and mental standards. The Seafarer's Intl. Union, AFL, has called the proposals an "outright power grab for iron-fisted military control" of the country's 60,000 seamen and "clearly the most vicious and unjustified attack on seamen ever made by a government agency." Said its official publication, the **Seafarer's Log:**

> "The proposals could be converted into a union-busting weapon with the greatest of ease, since they are broad enough to bar anyone who vigorously presses a shipboard beef as a 'complainer' and unstable personality."

REUTHER ALARMED: The CIO sees in questionnaires currently required of defense-plant workers with access to secret data "grave dangers as a potential vehicle of anti-unionism." President Walter Reuther reported to the recent CIO convention:

> ". . . During the past year the Defense Dept. proposed to require every defense worker with access to any classified information to fill out a questionnaire naming under penalties of perjury every person he had ever associated with, no matter how many years back, who, at any time in his life, had ever belonged to any of the 240 or more organizations on the Atty. General's list. . . . As the result of our representations, the proposal was modified to the extent of limiting the association covered by the questionnaire to the past five years with persons who had been members of these organizations within the past five years. Even as limited, however, many employes will find the questionnaire impossible to fill out and abhorrent in principle.
>
> "Your officers are also particularly concerned lest the information on these questionnaires come into the hands of employers who might utilize the 'derogatory' information thus gained by them against militant union men."

"THE GREAT DANGER": The CIO **Intl. Oil Worker** (1/10) warns that the U.S. Chamber of Commerce is seeking a law extending government power to oust "subversives" to all private industry with defense contracts:

> "Those totalitarian forces in the U.S. which have been hounding government employes for the past seven or eight years may soon be in a position to get a man discharged if he works for private industry in an oil refinery, chemical plant or on a pipe line."

The paper points out that "by government standards, a man can be a 'security risk' although there isn't the faintest belief that he might spy for a foreign country or belong to a questionable organization," and that application of these standards in industry could lead to "the wholesale discharge of individuals who are merely suspected of having unorthodox opinions or screwball friends." It emphasizes the union-busting angle:

> "The great danger . . . if the law passes is that it will be used for discriminatory firing—the kind of firing that the unions have fought so long and hard to end. If the company wanted to 'get' a man, it might very well plant a few dirty rumors about him, let these rumors get to the government, and let the government ask for the discharge. Or designing politicians of the McCarthy or Nixon stripe could bring about the discharge of large numbers of wage earners simply in order to secure big headlines about 'subversion in industry' and in order to make people afraid to argue politics."

Williams in Detroit Free Press
PERMANENT BLACK EYE

PROGRAM FOR TYRANNY: The paper concludes that if government "security" standards are extended to private industry, then

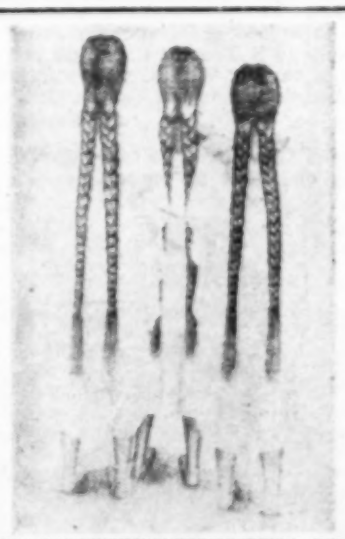
> ". . . the majority of all fields of employment would be closed to people who are in the bad graces of the officeholders who happen to be in power. Soon all employment of all sorts would be government-controlled. The establishment of tyranny would be complete."

But getting a wage-earner fired is not enough for McCarthy; he would starve him too. On Jan. 19 he introduced a bill to deny unemployment compensation to any person using the Fifth Amendment; to deny tax credits to any state, and to employers in that state, if it failed to make such persons ineligible for benefits.

Sound the alarm

OREGON, WIS.

The Spectator article on Florence Luscomb was a must for all real believers in democracy. I have just finished reading Claude Bowers' **Mission to Spain**, and that is another all should read. It is being paralleled by the actions of the so-called free countries now, and the result cannot be different—unless we wake up and stop the rearmament of Germany and Japan now. Mrs. Bertha E. Franklin



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Congress gives OK

(Continued from Page 1)

agreed that the Cairo conference (Dec., 1943) promised restoration of Formosa to China. But Secy. Dulles said that the U.S., as the power accepting Japan's surrender, still controlled Formosa and the U.S.-Japan peace treaty left its future undecided. Morse looked upon Formosa as a U.S. "protectorate" pending a UN trusteeship. The N.Y. **Times** (1/30) said that, after Japan's surrender, "the Chiang Government took over de facto control of Formosa"; in the same issue its Washington correspondent Elie Abel wrote that Formosa and the Pescadores "were taken from Japan and ceded to the Nationalist regime under the Cairo and Potsdam declarations." Walter Lippmann denied (1/24) that Chiang had ever "acquired a legitimate title to Formosa."

FORMOSA "ESSENTIAL"? Lippmann did not explain by what right the U.S. armed Chiang and gave him naval and air support to attack the Chinese mainland, if (as Lippmann implied) it only gave sanctuary in U.S.-controlled Formosa to a Chiang expelled from China by his own people. Washington, however, has increasingly emphasized the theory that Formosa and the Pescadores are essential to U.S. security (Secy. Acheson five years ago said specifically they were not) and must therefore be kept in "friendly"—that is, in Chiang's—hands. The York (Pa.) **Gazette and Daily** observed (1/26)

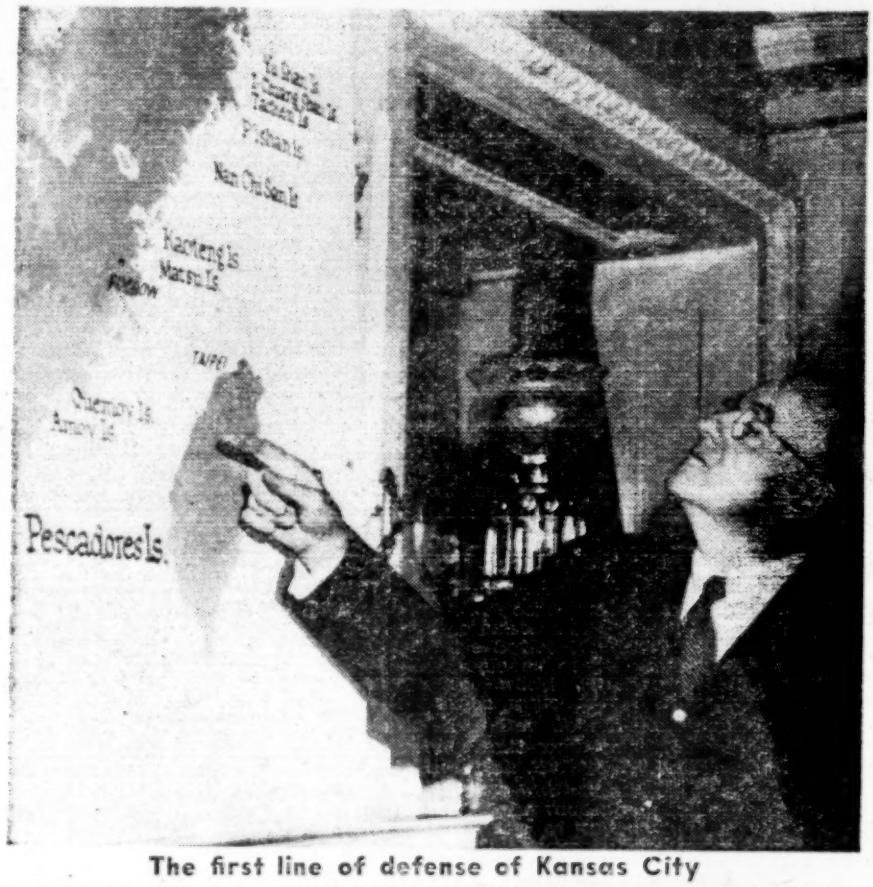
> ". . . how the role of Chiang has shrunk in this tension to realistic size. The clash is not between the stated interests of Chiang and the Chinese Communists—for all practical purposes that war is over—but between the stated interests of China proper and the U.S."

Against that theory British Labour leader Clement Attlee—his party unified overnight on the Formosa issue—said (**AP**, 1/31):

> "I cannot see myself that . . . Formosa is an essential part of the defense of America. . . . It is clear that the Peking Government won the civil war against Chiang. It would then have occupied Formosa but for the intervention of the U.S. fleet."

London's **New Statesman** (1/29) said:

> "How can [a cease-fire] happen while the pretense remains that America is acting to defend a vital interest, and that Peking, not Washington, has set a light to this prairie fire? . . . Peking may postpone the enforcement of its clear rights to Formosa for the moment, but its belief that America means war will only be strengthened. . . . Nowhere, outside the U.S., is the doctrine acceptable that Formosa is essential to the security of California."



The first line of defense of Kansas City

Secy. Dulles points to a map of Formosa off the China coast to explain Washington's advance declaration of war. Can you imagine the reaction in Washington if Foreign Minister Chou En-lai were pictured in the Chinese press with a pointer resting on Nantucket Island?

DOLLARS & ALLIES: The Peking news agency **Hsinhua** accused Eisenhower of "standing the facts on their head" when

> ". . . he alleged that [China's] exercise of sovereignty in liberating Formosa and the Pescadores from the occupation of traitor Chiang would . . . 'imperil the security' of the U.S. more than 10,000 miles away on the other side of the Pacific."

Reflecting the mass of W. European opinion, the **Christian Science Monitor's** London correspondent reported (1/28) that "the most sympathetic explanation of America's interest in the Chinese question" he had heard was summed up by an MP as follows:

> "America has invested a lot of money in Chiang, it cannot just stand back and lose it all."

London's **Daily Mirror** (4½ million circulation), in a front-page editorial "Warnings to America" (1/28), blasted Washington's policy as

> ". . . wrong and perilous. . . . If America involves herself in a major war because of this policy such a war would not command the sympathy of the British people."

And British Labour's official daily, the **Herald** (1/28), reached for its italics to state flatly:

> "This country definitely will not become involved, under any pretext, in China's civil war."

"TWO CHINAS": News reports and leaders' statements indicated the U.S. and Britain had quietly agreed upon the solution of "two Chinas"—mainland and Formosa—both members of UN. Supreme Court Justice Douglas favored a temporary UN trusteeship over Formosa and, regarding China's permanent UN Security Council seat, suggested giving it to an Asian country like India or Pakistan (an idea Britain and U.S. had toyed with in the past) or to "rotate" it among the larger Asian nations. But Walter Lippmann, observing nearly six months ago (8/31) that the "coexistence" then prevailing was "founded upon the partition of Germany, Korea, Indo-China, and of China itself," pointed out that

> ". . . partition of great countries, like Germany and China, cannot be permanent. . . . [Any truce based upon such partition must lead to] active diplomacy for the purpose of . . . preparing the way for a workable and acceptable re-unification."

At GUARDIAN press time Peking had not replied to the UN invitation. Robert Allen reported (2/1) an "unannounced" U.S. proposal "transmitted to Peking through Foreign Minister Eden and Premier Nehru": Washington would relinquish Chiang's control of off-shore islands if Peking agreed not to fortify these islands and allowed an American protectorate over Formosa and the Pescadores. Allen also said Peking had notified Washington through Burma's U Nu of its willingness to discuss Formosa and the question of the jailed U.S. flyers with an "unofficial" U.S. delegation. However, Sen. Knowland, who had supported Eisenhower's Formosa policy "heartily," declared unalterable opposition to giving up the islands. Meanwhile the U.S. Senate approved SEATO—regarded as provocative by most major S-E Asian nations—by an 82-1 vote; only Sen. William Langer (R-N.D.), who had opposed Eisenhower's Formosa policy, denounced it as "another entanglement."

The view of most of Asia was reflected in the pro-Nehru Indian paper **National Herald** which—amazed that "the U.S. should consider Formosa more vital to her security than it is to China's"—predicted that tension would only "disappear if the U.S. withdraws from Formosa and leaves [Chiang's] Kuomintang to be quietly wound up."

War or retreat?

(Continued from Page 1)

Far East Robertson and Secy. Dulles in the all-out-war camp. Dulles is also concerned to "wed" U.S. allies to Washington's position "in such a way that they could not well fail in their support at a crucial moment" (**Wall St. Journal**, 1/28).

Braking this war "solution" has been not so much an indentifiable group in government as the pressure of world realities—tending to be expressed through the President. Army Chief of Staff Ridgway, continuing to recognize the danger of land war in Asia, told Congress he was not consulted on the present Far East move. Fear of fighting alone, destroying the Western alliance and all U.S. influence in Asia, is also a restraining factor.

CHINA'S MOVES: With Washington "responding" to the Geneva settlement by new warlike moves in Asia and an intensification of the Formosa war, Peking made preparatory moves to oust Chiang from China's off-shore islands, strongly fortified by the U.S. and serving as bases for mounting attacks on China since September. Peking also sought through the U.S.S.R. in the UN to bring the threat to peace in the Formosa Strait to world attention; and to arrange a Geneva-type conference at New Delhi with other Asian nations participating (an initiative disclosed by Asian nations in UN last week).

The latter was blocked by the West, the former smothered by Washington propaganda about the imprisoned flyers. Eisenhower's message followed the tension-relaxing Hammarskjold visit to Peking and Peking's dramatic "diplomacy of the heart" (**Le Monde**, 1/23) in inviting the flyers' families to visit them. But the message faced two ways—"a technique . . . distinctively John Foster Dulles" (Doris Fleeson, N.Y. **Post**, 1/27)—and leaves unanswered the question: retreat or war. Commented Joseph C. Harsch (**Christian Science Monitor**, 1/29):

> "It was not easy for the President to devise a formula which would bring both Sen. Knowland and the British government to the same rallying ground. The British had been given private assurances but so had Sen. Knowland, and at the week's end it was still not clear which were the more meaningful assurances."

Knowland (and apparently Chiang also) had reportedly been assured the U.S. would fight for Quemoy and Matsu; the British, that they would be handed over to China in the event of a cease-fire. If the former assurances prove the most meaningful, Washington means war, and is maneuvering for allied support; if the latter, it is beginning a retreat—seeking to limit it by frightening its allies into support of its holding Formosa and the Pescadores. The British Commenwealth Conference in London was reported agreed that the offshore islands must go to China, Chiang's attacks on the mainland be halted, and Formosa's and the Pescadores' future negotiated later.

ASIA ASKS "RE-THINKING": But the New Zealand-British-U.S. initiative in UN aims simply at a military cease-fire without political conditions, which would "legalize" a permanent U.S. threat to China on its very territory. India's Arthur Lal told UN correspondents that "silencing the guns is only one aspect and a cease-fire cannot create stability in Asia"; there must be a "re-thinking" among nations. With obvious reference to the Congressional resolution declaring Formosa necessary to U.S. defense, he asked: What is to halt "a certain nation" (meaning the U.S.) from saying "we're going to the defense of India because India is necessary to our defense?" Asian nations at UN made these points:

- China will not accept the concept embodied in the New Zealand resolution of a dispute between "two Chinas." Formosa is an integral part of China as the U.S. itself has recognized many times, and must be returned to it.
- Washington's declaration that Formosa is necessary to its defense violates the UN Charter which declares all nations sovereign and equal. Art. 51 obliges UN members to report matters affecting peace to the Security Council; they may take action only **pending such a report.** The present move, directly contrary to the Charter, is of concern to all Asia.
- The Security Council is not the proper forum for fruitful negotiations since in it the Kuomintang holds a veto while China, representing 600 million people, does not even have a vote. In any case the question should be called not a "situation" but a "dispute," which would allow neither Formosa, the U.S. nor China to vote.

The U.S.S.R. and China are demanding a cease-fire while the U.S. withdraws its forces from the entire Formosa area. While the Security Council awaited China's response to its invitation to discuss the New Zealand resolution, it became plain that Washington's moves had roused world-wide opposition. In this opposition and the extent to which the American people contribute to it, lies the hope and possibility of forcing Washington to make a peaceful retreat in the Far East.

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"Could I see you alone a minute?"

EASTERN UNION FARMERS CONVENTION

'Depression's here' for family farmers

By Charles R. Allen Jr.
Guardian special correspondent

TRENTON, N. J.

THE 12th ANNUAL convention of the Eastern Division Farmers Union was no gala affair this year. In the hallways, in the committee rooms, at the dining tables and from the floor an observer readily appreciated the meaning of the policies of Agriculture Secy. Ezra Benson. "Flexible" price supports, the God-given sanctity of the "law" of supply and demand and the "free" market were reduced to their every day consequences for the family farmers who comprise the 4,000-member union. One poultry farmer said:

"I haven't gotten a dime in real income since last June. My unemployment checks ran out long ago and if something doesn't break soon, I'll just have to get off the farm. And where in hell can I go for work? Our area's been a 'crisis' area for the last year or so! Just what are we going to do?"

THE SAME STORY: Countless similar stories were told by delegates from the poultry, dairy and produce farms of Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Delaware and New York. They were the same stories that this reporter heard last fall at Farmers Union conventions in Montana, Iowa, Michigan and Minnesota.

There was anger when the union's exec. secy. Louis Slocum charged that "for the family farmer in America the depression is already here!" The delegates responded by unanimously passing resolutions calling for a return to "full parity" and "equitable price support ratios" for poultry, dairy and produce products. Slocum said:

"The poultry farmer has undergone a nightmare these past 12 months and is now face-to-face with an outright crisis. Dairy and produce farmers have taken the worst shellacking they've been handed in years and this 'creeping depression' which is slowly paralyzing all of us will break into an uncontrollable gallop unless federal aid and full parity are instituted immediately. We are at the end of our patience. Two years of Eisenhower and Benson have been just two years too much for the family farmer!"

"FULL PARITY": Noting that the fall market price of eggs failed to reach the previous spring levels for 'the first time in history," the convention declared that "equal treatment for eggs and poultry on a parity basis with wheat and corn is a must." A bill was endorsed for presentation to Congress to "provide for the establishment of equitable egg-feed and poultry-feed ratios" by law and thereby eliminate the uncertainties of the market.

The union also promised to continue to press Congress to resolve its members' plight. On Jan. 19 a picket line in front of the Dept. of Agriculture building in Washington gave out free boxes of eggs to dramatize the distress of the poultry farmers. Such demonstrations were endorsed by delegates.

Constant references were made to "price spreads" that reportedly exist between "price received by the farmers [for their poultry, dairy and produce products] and the final price paid by the consumer." The convention called for a full-scale "investigation," presumably by the Congress, of the milk industry for alleged price rigging by dealers.

A LOOK ABROAD: On foreign affairs, a resolution opposed the Congressional "blank check" given to President Eisenhower on Formosa:

"We are certain that the American people do not want to become involved in a war with 500 million Chinese people in a land 6,000 miles away . . . with the discredited and dispossessed Chiang Kai-shek as our only ally."

The union also denounced the rearmament of West Germany and called for an immediate Big Four conference on a united, disarmed and democratic Germany.

On witch-hunting a resolution said:

"We condemn with equal fervor Sen. McCarthy and McCarthyism. There is an increasing tendency today to condemn McCarthy while practising McCarthyism. So deeply has [his] propaganda penetrated our very lives that there is a need for a complete re-orientation of the American people."

The union also called for outright repeal of a host of "anti-subversive" laws, and the Taft-Hartley law was condemned in an appeal for farmer-labor unity.

CO-EXISTENCE: Bertha Zoda, union educational director, drew cheers with a call for a

". . . consciously developed policy of co-existence [between the U.S. and the Soviet Union]. We must fill the stomachs of the hungry people of the world with surplus foods, not with radioactive dust."

The Rev. John Dillingham, outspokenly anti-communist Negro pastor of the 13th Av. Presbyterian Church of Newark, warned that

". . . the widespread anti-Communist hysteria of the day constitutes the most serious threat to the continuance and preservation of the American Bill of Righs."

The essence of freedom is courage, he said: "We must have the courage to keep our precious freedoms."

McWILLIAMS SPEAKS: Principal speaker was Carey McWilliams, editorial director of **The Nation.** In an examination of statistics covering the past decade of agricultural development in the U.S. he disputed facile conclusions that the "big" farm performs more efficiently than the "small" farm.

"The issue cannot really be seen as 'big' verusus 'small' farm," said McWilliams; it must be viewed against a background of the Cold War, increased concentration of economic power and "the shameful rewriting of that period of really astounding achievement called the New Deal" by the current "cult of conformists" who insist that Bigness is the be-all and end-all of the "American way of life." He said:

"The ultimate answer lies in encouraging and bringing about the conditions for a basic democracy in our farm economy."

Lyle Cooper, research director of the CIO United Packinghouse Workers, spoke on "The Common Needs of Farmers and Labor Today." Pointing out that the majority of workers in America are not members of trade unions, Cooper said that "really we've just got started organizing." With the farmer, he said, this applied even more. He declared:

"The only answer to the squeeze that they are bringing to bear against the family farmer is by organizing. After all there are more family farmers than there are big farmers. But they must be organized."

The Case of the Stubborn Editor

THE G-MAN DOES HIS STUFF

This action drama was filmed in the GUARDIAN office by our Art Editor Robert Joyce on the morning of May 15, 1953. On that morning the G-Men took Cedric Belfrage to Ellis Island for deportation because he defied McCarthy at a hearing the day before in Washington. Belfrage is at the right, the G-Man at the left. In the background, l. to r., Kumar Goshal, Lawrence Emery, John T. McManus and, behind Belfrage, Robert E. Light. A month after that May morning we got our editor out on $5,000 bail and have since fought the case through one round of hearings. This round ended up with a deportation order which enters its first appeal round later this month.

We have just published Belfrage's own account of the case in a 16-page pamphlet entitled "The Case of the Stubborn Editor," to win public support for our fight. We hope it will also bring about wider participation in the fight on the Walter-McCarran Law. **Copies of "The Case of the Stubborn Editor" are now available at 12 for $1; bulk prices on request. Address Pamphlets, 17 Murray St., New York 7. If you haven't yet bought your copy of Belfrage's** Seeds of Destruction **($1.50) why not order it at the same time?**

Reach, Red!

INDOCHINESE officials are censoring Hollywood's Westerns because of the "disastrous effects" they are having on the morals of youth in free Vietnam.

. . . Western movies are a durable part of our culture scene, glorifying the men and women who carved an American empire out of the rugged Old West, condemning the Bad Man to Boot Hill oblivion.

Maybe the Hopalong spirit is what it will take to turn back the Communist Bad Men, who are the outlaw land grabbers of this century.

—**Chicago Daily News** editorial, Dec. 30, 1954

The Wayward Bus: The honor of the South bloodlessly upheld

By Alex Wright

THE GREYHOUND BUS that loads up at Norfolk, Va., stops across the river at Portsmouth to take on additional passengers. All seats were filled except two: one beside a Negro girl, five seats back on the left, the other beside me, six seats back on the right. We were the only two Negro passengers.

A white woman got on at Portsmouth. She asked the Negro girl: "Would you mind moving over there with him?"—meaning me. The girl said: "Certainly I mind. Why should I?"

The white woman turned to the bus driver just then getting on: "Driver, would you make this Darky get over there in that other seat with that other Darky?"

You could have heard a pin drop. The driver said: "Lady, there's only one reserved seat in this bus—the one I'm sitting in—and there's not 'room for both of us!" The driver started the bus and pulled out. About a hundred yards later, he yelled back: "Lady, you'll have to sit down. It's against the law to stand."

"I'm not sittin' beside a Nigger," she said.

"Then you'll have to get off." He stopped the bus. A white man and his wife were in the double seat in front of me. The husband got up and said to the woman in the aisle: "All right, if you want to be silly, sit down here and I'll sit beside the colored lady."

As the Southern Traditionalist started to sit down, the man's wife jumped up and said: "I don't want her sittin' side of me!" and she took the free seat beside me. The majority of the passengers were soldiers. They and the others applauded and whooped at this.

One soldier yelled: "She's got a seat all to herself now." Another said: "Let's fight the Civil War all over again!" The razzing continued without let-up until the woman stood up and called them all "Nigger-lovers."

The bus driver, then about eight miles out, stopped the bus again and said: "Look, Lady, I'm not going to have you insulting passengers. And if you don't cut that language out, I'm going to put you off!"

She sat down and not another peep out of her till she got off at Richmond.

The woman sitting beside me, from North Carolina, said: "Times are changing and the sooner we learn to go along with them instead of against them, the better off we'll be."

I looked out at the familiar scenery. Yes, it was actually Virginia!

Alex Wright was Progressive Party candidate for lieutenant governor of Pennsylvania in last November's election.

THE MIAMI STORY

100 face new persecution in Florida's witch-hunt

A NEW CHAPTER is beginning in the Miami story. Last year State Attorney George A. Brautigam, conducting a rampaging red-hunt, subpenaed more than 100 persons for questioning before a grand jury and in his private office about their political beliefs and associations. Thirty-one who pleaded the privilege against self-incrimination were convicted of contempt and 30 were sentenced to one year in jail; of the 31, 29 were Jews. Recently the Florida Supreme Court completed the reversal of all 31 convictions.

But the reversals constituted no victory for civil liberties. The court coupled its decision with a suggestion that state "anti-subversive" statutes ban membership in the Communist Party and "Communist-front" organizations. To Brautigam this was "just what we are looking for. Now we can go forward and seek indictments on mere membership in the Communist conspiracy." By last week a new batch of more than 40 subpenas had been issued; the victims included several of the 31 freed by the Supreme Court.

THE PROCEDURE: Brautigam said he will follow essentially the same procedure as in the contempt cases: individuals will be questioned first in his private office; if they refuse to answer, they will be called before the grand jury; if they refuse to answer there, they will be subject to indictment. Any found in Brautigam's eyes to have been involved in any way at any time in activities he considers subversive will be in trouble. Said he:

> "In the eyes of the law, once a Communist always a Communist—unless they can prove otherwise."

The proof: active co-operation with Brautigam. He boasts that he now has 60 "friendly witnesses."

TWO MURDERS: First appearances of the new batch of victims have been postponed several times; the date is now set for Feb. 10. A Miamian writes the GUARDIAN:

> "There is little question but that Brautigam will push some 'criminal communism' indictments through the grand jury. Brautigam has been discredited through his obvious incompetence in handling the Pinder and Roberts murder cases. In the first he withdrew indictments and dropped charges despite the existence of sufficient evidence and witnesses to bring the case to trial. In the latter he pulled the magnificent boner of an indictment against the father of a murdered child, based on the perjured circumstantial testimony of a single individual, a 'private eye.' The case has been dismissed, but the stench remains, especially since Brautigam received national publicity when he made the arrest in Baltimore.
>
> "As state attorney, Brautigam can bring indictments in any felony through a grand jury, but he can only prosecute crimes that may bring a death penalty, such as rape or murder. All other felonies are prosecuted by the county solicitor. Brautigam is thus in a position where he can obtain indictments, but if Dade County solicitor John Marsh finds the evidence insufficient to bring the cases to trial, it is Marsh who can be smeared as being 'soft' or incompetent, while Brautigam can claim the credit for being a 'red-fighter.'
>
> "In order to hide his incompetence in capital crime cases, Brautigam will probably flood the press wih new of indictments."

22 DRUNK ARRESTS: Solicitor Marsh has indicated he may not go along. Brautigam caused the indictment of Sam Hirsch, former director of Miami Beach's Biltmore Playhouse, on eight counts of perjury (each carrying a 20-year sentence) for denying Communist Party membership. But Brautigam's sole witness against Hirsch was a man who has been convicted 22 times in the past five years for drunkenness and has been tried twice for disorderly conduct and twice for assault and battery. Marsh, citing a legal requirement of two witnesses in a perjury case, said:

> "I would not start such an investigation myself [to obtain a second witness] . . . I don't believe in investigating a man for belief in a theory. . . . I don't see any danger in a man believing or advocating ideas such as communism, short of overthrowing the government by violence."

THE DEFENSE: Two local committees are leading the fight against the Brautigam persecutions. One, headed by those under subpena, is the Constitutional Defense Committee of Greater Miami, P. O. Box 1794, Miami Beach. It asks Floridians to write to Florida's newly elected Gov. Leroy Collins urging Brautigam's dismissal from office. The other committee is headed by Rev. Joseph Barth of the First Unitarian Church and Rev. Edward Ullrich, pastor of Robertson Memorial Church.

A New York defense committee has held several meetings and asks Florida vacationers to protest to the Miami and Miami Beach Chambers of Commerce. Funds for the Miamians under fire are being raised through the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, 421 7th Av., N.Y. 1. It is distributing a detailed history of the Miami madness by attorney Frank Donner—a reprint (10c) of an article in the Jan. 22 **Nation.**

Save Irvin's life

St. Petersburg Times

Have you written yet to Gov. LeRoy Collins, State Capitol, Tallahassee, Fla., asking him to commute Irvin's death sentence? There is still time, but it is running out rapidly.

"POOL ALL EFFORTS"

Smith Act Amnesty Committee disbands

THREE years ago the Natl. Committee to Win Amnesty For Smith Act Victims was organized in New York. Its purpose, it said, was not only to attack "the great wrong" done women and men convicted solely for their political views, but also to expose "the threat to the civil liberties of all of us inherent in the persecution of any group for the advocacy of ideas." The committee analyzed the Smith Act as "subversive" and showed to what extent it laid legal basis for the McCarran Internal Security Act and the Walter-McCarran Immigration law.

Last week, in a letter to supporters, the committee announced its decision to disband "in the interest of pooling all efforts to help develop the general resistance to repressive legislation and political persecution." All efforts, it said, should now be merged "in a general fight on every level against the growing use of the Smith Act and for the total repeal of this law." It urged similar action against the Butler-Brownell Law.

The committee was "confident the resistance to the witchhunt is on the move" and assured all supporters that "every member of our committee is determined to continue the work for the freedom of political prisoners within the framework of the general campaign."

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CALENDAR

Newark, N. J.

The Current Events Forum of Newark presents another in its series of distinguished events
LLOYD BROWN
lecturer, Negro publicist, author of "Iron City"
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Fri., Feb. 11—8:30 p.m.
Members, 50c; non-members, 75c
516 Clinton Av. Newark, N. J.

Washington, D. C.

NEGRO HISTORY WEEK. Herbert Aptheker will speak, Feb. 11, 8:30 p.m., Meridian Hill Baptist Church, 1725 Kalorama Rd., N.W. Sponsored by D.C. Progressive Party.

Cleveland, Ohio

Joe Haber Memorial Committee Presents
MARTHA SCHLAMME, LEON BIBB
in CONCERT
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Cory Methodist Church
1117 East 105th St.
Admission: $1.35, including tax
For advance tickets call:
WY 1-1066 or PO 1-2130

Detroit, Mich.

2 Review of the Month Forums, Feb. 11, Fri., Polish movie "The Last Stop," story of Auschwitz. Feb. 18, Fri., "Perspectives for American Socialism," as seen by the Proletarian Party. Speaker: L. Wysocki, National Secy. Meetings 8 p.m., Highland Park YMCA.

Chicago

"The Issues in the Lightfoot Case." Hear Claude Lightfoot, John Abt, George W. Crockett Jr. Pershing Ballroom, 64th & Cottage Grove. Fri., Feb. 18, 8 p.m.

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Books and Publications

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BOOKFAIR no longer has stock on "The Investigator" and is unable to fill your orders. We regret and inconvenience we may have caused our customers.
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MORE LETTERS ON McMANUS ARTICLE

On independent political action

The flood of mail is unabated in response to John T. McManus' article in the Jan. 10 GUARDIAN calling for independent progressive political action in the 1956 campaign. This page contains all the excerpts we have room for in this issue; the discussion will be resumed shortly. Your comments are invited. Single copies of the Jan. 10 issue may still be obtained, while they last. Enclose 10 cents in stamps or coin with your order.

Work cut out for us

NEW YORK, N. Y.

I feel your call for a third party of a more left and socialist character is ill-considered and most ill-timed. At the present, when we progressives must unite on the very elementary issues of civil liberties and peace, I consider it dangerous and destructive to call for socialism. We are engaged in a struggle for survival against the McCarthyites and war-mongers. These are the issues, not socialism. I don't see how the formation of a third party with a view toward socialism can broaden our base. If anything, it narrows it down, disperses what forces we have now.

With the latest administration moves on the Formosa issue, our work is cut out for us. Let's work together within the present framework. Another party, another name is no solution. Name withheld

He learned

PROVO, UTAH

Your Call is timely. I have participated in efforts to form such a party for 43 years, or since 1910-12. Three efforts since then—1912, 1924 and 1948—have failed and my hopes failed with them. I learned something from each one. I now think many others have learned that the need for a new party has grown greater as development has increased the growth of economic and political power till today monopoly is practically complete.

E. A. Mitchell

The right name

ARLINGTON, CALIF.

It seems to me also that we should have a sensible political party. I don't know what it should be called. We might go back a few years and borrow the name "People's Party" or "Populist." It could be that choosing the right name might gain a lot of interest and support from the timid ones of whom there seem to be many.

E. J. Curry

One step forward

SPOKANE, WASH.

At our Free Discussion Club your Call brought forth serious discussion. It was voted to send you $10 from our treasury to help carry on the work you are doing.

Lillian Keevy

Before it's too late

TAMPA, FLA.

Only through direct action, through labor's own political party, can labor hope ever to gain. Your article pertaining to a labor political party is timely and encouraging. In a few years fascism will be in complete power, and unless labor does something very soon, it will be too late. Jesse Pastermack

Intellectual solution?

NEW YORK, N. Y.

I wish to point out a contradiction. How is it possible to build socialism outside the organized labor movement when the seeds of socialism are planted in the trade union movement? Since it is the intention of this new party to bypass the labor movement then, in essence, we are bypassing socialism and would only be using the term "socialism" as a slogan. This thinking seems to be to be the result of intellectuals who arrive at their own solutions rather than considering the needs of the people.

Mary Crampsey

A 4-point plan

SHEVLIN, MINN.

We believe that people everywhere are getting fed up with the bi-partisan love-making between Democrats and Republicans. We believe there is a need for a constructive liberal approach to issues. That is why we are outlining a 4-point program around: (1) The Brannan Plan; (2) public works to stop unemployment; (3) no UMT and new steps to world disarmament; (4) more democracy, not less.

We believe it is time we criticize Democrats who are acting more reactionary than Republicans. This we have done and intend to continue to do—even when it means criticizing Hubert Humphrey. If the Democratic Party is to survive, it will need to adopt a genuine liberal program for the common people as opposed to the reactionary program of the Republicans.

Alf Eldevik, Chairman
9th Dist., Farmer Labor Fedn.

"Half-cocked"

DETROIT, MICH.

Why not first find out what the workers in industry, and the small farmers are thinking about the two-party system? I don't see any attempts for a mass breakaway as yet. In Detroit the people of the 13th Congressional District elected Mr. Diggs. Try to talk to them about independent action when Mr. Diggs hasn't even had a chance to get started. Or take Gov. Leader of Pennsylvania, recently elected. Try to convince the worker and farmer who voted for him that now is the time to strike out for "greener pastures." I can almost hear the retort way over here.

In so many words, from the looks of things you are going, as the boys in the shop would put it, "half-cocked." I agree with you about the fact that both parties are "rotten" and that there is a need for a change; but at the same time let's recognize the simple and obvious fact that the majority of the American people have not as yet arrived at the point in history when they are ready to move decisively for a break with the two-party system. More could be said, but my advice is more caution.

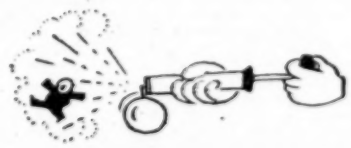
Ben Kocielski

Time to disinfect

LONGVIEW, WASH.

If there ever was a time in the history of our country when it needed an overhauling and a disinfecting it is surely now. That bad smell is not only noticeable at home; it reaches to the far corners of Christendom. We must build a party so strong, so up-to-the-minute and down to the people's needs that there will be no question about where we stand.

A. M. C.



The battles ahead

SPRINGFIELD GARDENS, N. Y.

I sincerely hope that the response to that Call is overwhelmingly favorable, and I am waiting very eagerly to learn of what steps, in the direction you outlined therein, will be taken, and when. I for one am quite anxious to do what little I can.

As you say—"The great battles remain to be fought." Progressive America will take up the battles again—but it needs leadership. It is not true that the people are afraid—they weren't afraid to raise their voices for the Rosenbergs—there was damned good leadership in that cause—and it was a worthwhile cause. Ruth Silverman

A weapon, if . . .

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

It is true that a third party on the ballot nationally in '56 would be a tremendous weapon in the hands of the people against reaction and war, provided that such a party had at least the beginnings of a mass base in labor, the working farmers and the Negro people. Such a party cannot materialize and qualify for the ballot without such support, indicating this proposal is not a practical possibility at the present time. The election results have shown that the third party movement in the U. S. has not attained the support and base that is necessary to sustain such a party. The forces that would constitute the base of such a political party are not yet prepared to leave their present political moorings, mainly within the Democratic Party, to form themselves into a new political party of an anti-monopoly nature—let alone a new political party with a socialist perspective.

The time will undoubtedly come when such a party will and must be formed, but I feel that it is utopian dreaming to believe that it can come from the thin air, or that the mere announcement by progressive leaders as to the necessity for such a party will cause the necessary numbers of people to divorce themselves from their present limited political perspectives. The one result that could happen, if the McManus proposal were adopted, would be the complete separation of progressives from all live contact with the masses of working people and isolate them into small, tight groups with a "pure" program and not much else. Such a group would be utterly incapable of gaining ballot status in all but a handful of states—particularly in the key industrial states. Certainly the suggestion of ballot status as a political party under such auspices in California in 1956 is out of the question.

This does not mean, however, that the need for independent political action locally in 1955 and nationally in 1956 is any less real and urgent. But political action must not and cannot be confined to the narrow limits that McManus set forth. All efforts should be made to guarantee the emergence of independent democratic candidates during the primaries—particularly when there is no choice between the machine candidates of both old parties. Effective struggle must be made to get the best democratic candidates chosen that offer the strongest opposition to reaction.

The great need is for broad coalitions to defeat the most reactionary, most rabid war-mongering candidates and to force commitments from the major candidates on the questions of peaceful co-existence, civil liberties, civil rights and unemployment. Wherever necessary, independent candidates must be entered, to effectively raise these issues and force them into the political arena, and to work for the winning of mass support for a program of peace and democracy. There are numbers of ways this can be done around specific campaigns without attempting to form a premature political party.

When programs and perspectives like these become the property of the working people who number in the millions, they will be enforced upon candidates seeking election. Our perspectives must be to draw ever closer to the bulk of the working people, to go in step with them, explaining at every step what must be done in order to move forward in the struggle to defeat the deadly menace of fascism and a new world war.

I reject any counsel that diverts us from this most important task. Lynn Childs

Avoid past mistakes

CHICAGO, ILL.

The American people have been held too long in the grip of the two reactionary parties. However, a new political venture, such as the foundation of a progressive labor party, will not in the beginning bring success. And those who ally with it must not be discouraged. But with the advent of time this movement will surely grow, provided, of course, it sticks together and avoids the mistakes of past movements. K. L. S.

Labor's final goal

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Your Call is the best thing that has come down the pike in many a day. It posed (and answered) one of the key problems of American labor and its organizations: independence from the old parties and a recognition of what must be labor's final goal—socialism. A beginning must be made somewhere, and this is far from being the worst time and place to begin.

ALP'er

A Populist Party

RUSKIN, FLA.

The old Populist Party must be revived, or a party along similar lines. I understood that in the early days the Prohibition Party was as much against Usury as against Alcohol. That could be revived, or its followers urged to become an anti-interest party, with the revived Populist Party and other similar, older, worth-while, idealist (but now most practical) attempts at new party formation.

H. J. Sutton

Set it in motion

FRENCHTOWN, N. J.

Congratulations! Your call for the formation of a people's political army against the phalens of the spoilers is the first clear and comprehensive sound distinguishable out of the confusing and misleading noises from the political scene of our country. Now it becomes our duty to get in touch with friends everywhere & set them in motion in the direction you have outlined.

We pledge to devote ourselves to this task. We have no illusions about the job. The lack of political education of the American masses, aggravated by deliberate misdirection, cannot be overcome overnight. The bastion of the people's enemy cannot be conquered with the first assault. But even defeats will lead it to eventual victory. Max & Elizabeth Bedacht

Many are waiting

NEW YORK, N. Y.

It is my opinion that it is none too early to think in terms of an independent campaign in the next Presidential election. There are many who were with us who are now sitting it out waiting for stimulation; and there must be many more who are seeking a political home. The voting in the last two elections indicated that the people are shifting from one of the old parties to the other—and a dynamic, vital new party with realistic program could appeal to them.

Thanks to the GUARDIAN for airing a problem which is of tremendous importance today.

Ruth Levy

More thinking

NEWARK, N. J.

I hope now that the GUARDIAN has opened the door, that our PP membership will be stirred to more profound thinking and take a real progressive stand.

Kurt Langmikel

THE ATOM SPY HOAX

by WILLIAM A. REUBEN

512 pp.; $3.75 Publication date: March 5

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LINCOLN & THE LOUISVILLE 7. A meeting at the Carlton Terrace, 2633 B'way (99th St.), Thurs., Feb. 10, 8:30 p.m. Harvey O'Connor presiding; Miss Louise Gilbert of Louisville 7; Louis L. Redding attorney; Leonard B. Boudin, attorney. Ausp: Emergency Civil Liberties Comm., 421 7th Av., N.Y. 1. OX 5-2863. Adm. $1.10 incl. tax.

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RENT FACTS TO FIGHT WITH

Why New Yorkers need tighter controls

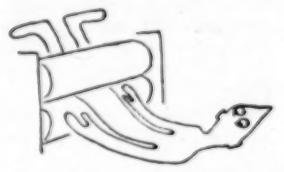
From a rent-control fact sheet of the Manhattan Tenant Councils, 396 Lenox Av.

RENTS in N. Y. C. have gone up 25 to 500% since 1940. U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics figures show that an "average" moderate - priced apartment has risen 24.5% between June, 1940, and July, 1954. Rents have been raised in more than 500,000 cases by "voluntary" 15% increases, exacted from new tenants or old ones intimidated into writing it into new leases. Some 60,000 rent boosts averaging $10 each have been granted landlords claiming that their property earns less than 6% of assessed valuation. Tenants are not permitted to receive a breakdown of landlords' figures.

PROFITS: The 15% across-the-board increase in 1953 increased landlords' income on residential rents $128 million and the value of real estate $900 million. Landlords complain about the rise in costs but their apartments are almost constantly rented, bringing a higher rate of income than in 1940.

DECONTROL: 229,935 rental units, 12% of N. Y. C.'s total, are not now controlled. Apartments built since 1947 are not under control, and their rents, based on inflated FHA mortgages, help raise the level for all rents. Apartments withdrawn from the rental market and reconverted, or buildings which had been boarded up and then reopened, are also decontrolled. Landlords force out low-rent tenants, and reopen the buildings at triple and quadruple rents. The State Rent Commission has decontrolled 16,113 apartments for reconversion.

SERVICES: Reduction of services provides substantial hidden increases in rent. Many tenants now provide shades, make minor repairs, paint or try to exterminate roaches and rats, which the landlord used to do. Replacement of equipment like stoves and refrigerators is part of the services on which maximum rent is based, but landlords may collect increases for them. The Rent Commission has granted 992,000 rent raises averaging $5 apiece for increased services (stoves, improvements, etc.), but only 268,000 decreases, averaging $6 each, for reduction of services.



FURNISHED ROOMS AND APARTMENTS: Rents for these are usually two or three times the original unfurnished rent, because the Rent Commission approves the "first rent" the landlord charges, and accepts landlords' claims that broken-down beds and bureaus are adequate.

An office building converted to residences at 109 E. 9th St. rented at $400 a year; now 15 rooms rent for $15 a week each (one bath, toilet and sink for the entire house). The landlord's yearly income: $11,700.

The Tenant Councils recommend: all registered rents based on "first rent" should be reviewed to bring them down to levels comparable to unfurnished rents; no more than 15% should be allowed for furnishings; no more conversions to furnished apartments; eviction regulations for furnished rooms should be the same as for unfurnished apartments.

LIMITED TO ONE DAY

Rent control hearing Feb. 9; real estate lobby is active

By Arthur Schutzer
Guardian legislative correspondent

INSTEAD of giving tenants an opportunity to appear at rent-control hearings throughout the state, a single hearing will be held in Albany Feb. 9 at 1 p.m. Joseph F. Carlino (R-Nassau), Assembly majority leader and staunch proponent of the 15% rent-hike bill of 1953, will preside as chairman of the Temporary State Commission to Study Rents.

Real estate objectives are: limit extension of controls to one year; decontrol rents in cities outside of N.Y.C.; cripple already inadequate enforcement of controls by abolishing the post of State Rent Administrator, cutting appropriations for enforcement and defeating all measures to tighten up procedures.

TEN NEEDS: Effective rent-control legislation should:

1. Roll back the 15% rent increase granted in 1953.
2. Extend the rent-control law at least to June 30, 1957.
3. Reduce rent if landlord fails to supply all services he was furnishing or supposed to furnish as of March 1, 1943.
4. Eliminate provision authorizing "voluntary" 15% increase.
5. Require certificate from Rent Commission before any eviction, no matter what the ground. (Landlords now can evict on any of six grounds without a certificate of eviction.)
6. Allow tenants to sue landlords for triple damages for unlawful eviction; also permit suits for overcharge of rent within two years. (Current limitation is one year.)
7. Furnish, free of charge, an accurate stenographic transcript of all Rent Commission hearings. At present, the only "record" consists of memorandum notes made by the hearing officer. These notes often fail to include all the essential facts and figures.
8. Bring under rent control housing created by changing from commercial property to residential use, and housing created by subdividing larger apartments into smaller ones.
9. Provide tenant and labor representation on the State Rent Commission.
10. Penalize landlords who fail to correct building violations after reasonable notice, by forfeiture of rent during period violations continue.

TEARFUL LANDLORDS: The real estate interests at the Feb. 9 hearing are expected to testify to their suffering under rent control. Sample wail was delivered on Jan. 29 by W. R. Blake, pres. of the Long Island Real Estate Board, who "called for an end to state rent controls" claiming that owners are unable to get a fair return from their property.

Yet N.Y.C. Tax Commission pres. William E. Boyland admitted on Jan. 31 that the assessed value of real estate has risen because of "increased real estate sales and relaxation of rent controls in some apartment houses. . . ."

Note: Persons desiring to appear at the Feb. 9 hearing may write Assemblyman Joseph F. Carlino, chairman, Temporary State Commission to Study Rents, Capitol, Albany, N. Y.

NEW YORK

Kerosene heater ban sought as 13 more die in 80 hours

By Elmer Bendiner

IN SHAKING UP his department last Dec. 23 Fire Commissioner Edward A. Cavanagh said: "We are burning up the entire city — all around us — and burning it up needlessly."

The blazes which since then have lit Harlem, Brooklyn's Bedford-Stuyvesant area and Manhattan's lower east side made the commissioner look like a prophet. Authorities found one major villain: the gasoline or kerosene heater on which thousands of New Yorkers must depend for warmth. That, winter and "tenants' carelessness" were blamed for the dead and homeless in the city's tenement fires.

FREE ADVICE: A year ago the National Fire Protection Assn. found portable heaters the largest single cause of fatal fires in homes all over the country — accounting in Harlem for 23% of the deaths.

Last week Deputy Housing Commissioner Bernice P. Rogers blamed many fatal violations on "thoughtless tenants." The N.Y. **Times** (2/1) called for a ban on kerosene heaters, portable stoves and side-arm gas water heaters, but Cavanagh said he had ruled out such a ban after a conference with manufacturers of such equipment last summer. He said it would hurt business, endanger employment of New Yorkers in these industries.

Instead, the commissioner fought fire with loud speakers. Last week fire engines equipped with public address systems toured the city's slum areas broadcasting advice on how to operate the portable heaters. Fifteen firemen were put on lecture duty, speaking in Spanish and English on street corners and in movie houses. Leaflets in both languages were widely distributed.

NOBODY KNOWS: The talk of outlawing heaters and of tenants' carelessness seemed to overlook the fact that thousands of New Yorkers must live without a convenience taken for granted as part of the American standard of living: central heating. Without the portable heaters they would freeze.

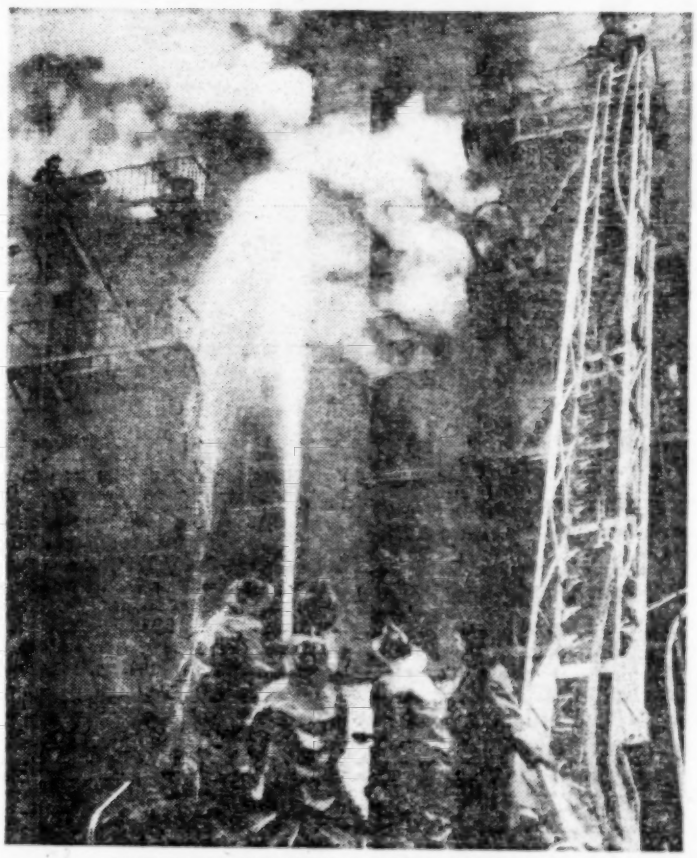
So thoroughly has this been obscured that no official seemed to know how many New Yorkers had no central heating. The Dept. of Building & Housing told the GUARDIAN it knew of no such statistic. The Real Estate Board of N.Y. referred questions to the U.S. Census Bureau, which said its block-by-block housing survey checked plumbing but not heating. Private housing agencies had no figures.

In 1953 there were 420,979 dwelling units in old-law tenements (built before 1901 without current legal requirements.) Many of these are used by two-six families. Most of the heatless houses are among them, but how many no one knows.

GRIM WEEK-END: The accumulating deaths by fire brought the first cautious editorial protest from the **Times** (2/1): "With the various modern and flexible types of heating equipment available on the market today there is no moral ground for excusing landlords from provision of central heating." The **Times** said "it would be years" before N.Y. was rid of its cold-water flats.

Bringing the matter to a head was the grim 80 hours from Friday, Jan. 28, to Tues., Feb. 1, in which fires killed 16 New Yorkers. Thirteen deaths came in apartments where the victims had to choose between freezing or taking their chances with portable heaters.

Typical was the house at 7 Rivington St., off the Bowery. No apartment there has either toilet or bathtub. In an upstairs apartment there are only two windows, opening on a view of the Bowery to the west. The entrance is into the kitchen where a kerosene stove gives the apartment its only warmth; on one side is a small bedroom opening up on a pitch-black airshaft; on the other, the room with the windows, closed in winter to keep the stove heat in.



"WE ARE BURNING UP THE ENTIRE CITY"
200 tenants were forced out in this recent tenement fire at 7th Av. and 141st St.

SUNDAY: Until last Sunday Wilfredo Rivera, 27, and his brother Angel, 16, slept near the windows. The Riveras' sister, Gloria Cordero, 30, slept near the airshaft with her family: husband Frank, 25, their children, Lucky, 6, Vivian, 3, Margie, 1.

At 9 a.m. Sunday police noticed smoke curling up near the roof of 1 Rivington, broke into the Cordero apartment. A policeman described the scene: "Flames were all around. I never saw anything like it. You couldn't see anything, no people, no furniture. Only smoke and fire."

Next door a man sat in a tightly-closed apartment with six caged canaries. He, like other tenants of the tenement, had to be ordered out by police.

Wilfredo Rivera smashed the only windows in his apartment, crawled out on a fire balcony and, badly injured, made his way to an adjoining building. He was taken to Gouverneur Hospital seriously burned; all the others in the apartment—three children and three adults — died in the flames.

It was only a few blocks from a tenement where a similar fire killed two old men Jan. 28.

MONDAY AND TUESDAY: On Monday afternoon, Jan. 31, a kerosene heater overturned at 2785 W. 37th St., Coney Island. Mrs. Loretta Bourquin, 34, led five of her children to safety. When she staggered out, a bystander asked if there was anyone else in the house. She screamed: "God, yes, Michael." Firemen carried out Michael, 2, still alive; he died later.

At 2 a.m., Feb. 1, bus-driver Michael Keenan entered his apartment at 188 Schaeffer St., Brooklyn. He told his wife, Rita: "Honey, it's beginning to snow. It's going to get very cold tonight." She recalled later: "He decided to light the heater. He wanted the children to be warm." As he set a match to the heater in the living room, the kerosene exploded. Mrs. Keenan said: "I ran toward Mike. He pushed me away into the other room. His sweater was aflame. He picked up Dennis. I woke the other children. I went through the hall and yelled for other people in the building, and then we all ran into the street."

Mrs. Keenan and five of her children were saved. Two others, Kathleen, 9, and Maureen, 7, were taken to Wyckoff Hgts Hospital in a critical condition. Mr. Keenan, 55, his son Dennis, 3½, and Charles Westerblade, 16, Mr. Keenan's son by a former marriage, died in the fire. Maureen died later.

Also on Tuesday, in a tenement in Amsterdam, N.Y., 11 children and the father of five of them were burned to death when their oil steve overflowed.

SOLUTIONS: After Tuesday's catastrophes Mayor Wagner proposed a legislative ban on the "killing kerosene stoves," effective Dec. 1, 1956. When Mt. Vernon recently enacted such a ban, the Westchester **Observer** (12/11/54), a Negro weekly, asked:

"What does the Aldermanic Board expect of the people who unfortunately are forced to reside in heatless dwellings? How does the honorable Board of Aldermen expect these people to keep warm?"

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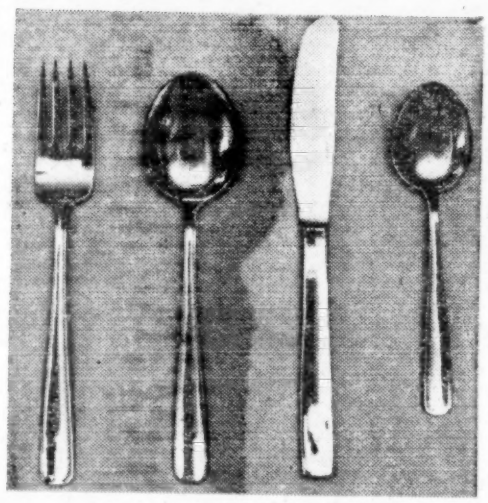

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IN SEVEN months almost 800 GUARDIAN families have taken advantage of our Imported Stainless Steel offer. Yet, we believe there are hundreds-more who need and would buy but are skeptical about how we can sell at half the price of comparable models.

We can appreciate their skepticism because we known that the beautiful, simple-lined tableware from Scandinavia and elsewhere in Europe sells for $4, $5 and $6 per place setting while ours is priced at little more than $2. The answer is this: our model is a copy of a famous Scandinavian design and is manufactured in Japan, which has favorable tariff regulations with the U. S.

In addition, large companies spend millions in advertising and merchandising through wholesalers, jobbers, distributors and retailers and tack this on to the price so there is a handsome profit to all. Guardian Buying Service gets its model direct from the importer and saves these costs.

Nevertheless, we believe the tableware will speak for itself. If you see it, we are sure you will buy it and recommend it to your friends. Therefore, we make this offer:

For one dollar (to cover cost of handling) we will send a four-piece place setting for examination. Keep it for ten days. Show it to your friends. Compare it with other models for price, construction, design. If you agree it is an outstanding value, fill out your settings from the offers on this page and remit the difference (i.e., for a $12.95 setting send $11.95; for a $16.95 setting send $15.95).

If you are not convinced, simply return the setting and your dollar will be refunded immediately.

* This offer is limited and may be withdrawn at any time.

SPECIAL OFFERS

24 pc. service for 6

Consists of 6 each of dinner knives, dinner forks, tea spoons and soup spoons.

$12.95 ppd.

(If you have sent $1 for your trial setting remit only $11.95 for the balance).

32 pc. service for 8

Consists of 8 each of pieces listed above.....**$16.95 ppd.**

(If you have sent $1 for your trial setting, remit only $15.95 for the balance).

Set of 6 Steak Knives
$5.65 ppd.

Set of 8 Steak Knives
$7.50 ppd.

Open Stock Prices

(including postage)

Steak Knives	95c ea.
Dinner Knives	75c ea.
Dinner Forks	55c ea.
Soup Spoons	55c ea.
Salad Forks	55c ea.
Tea Spoons	40c ea.
Butter Spreaders	55c ea.
Serving Spoons	70c ea.

If you already have our tableware, and want friends or relatives to receive this special dollar offer, send us their names and addresses with $1 for each and we will send them a trial place setting.

GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE **17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y.**

Quantity	Size, Color, Description	Amount
	POSTAGE	

(N. Y. C. buyers add 3% Sales Tax)

TOTAL

Name .....

Address .....

.....

No COD's. Full payment must accompany all orders. Make checks or money orders payable to GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE.

BOOKS

Ring Lardner's novel

By Cedric Belfrage

FIVE years ago ten "premature anti-fascist" movie writers and directors went to jail for defending the First Amendment; for nine who have stood firm, Hollywood careers were over. Now Dalton Trumbo, one of these who had already established himself as a novelist, introduces fellow-victim Ring Lardner Jr.'s **The Ecstasy of Owen Muir** to Liberty Book Club members as "a remarkable first novel" by "a unique American novelist."

Trumbo does not overstate. It would perhaps be indecent to congratulate the witch-hunters on having blown Lardner up as a screen writer; but few writers ever turned such a setback to such advantage in their craft, and if he remains in Hollywood's limbo it will be no tragedy to American culture.

Unlike so many "firsts," Lardner's is not a disguised autobiography. The author looks upon a world outside, although interpenetrated with, his own. He already shows a mastery of the objective study of character in satirical vein.

SEARCH AND DISASTER: His bold choice of a central theme is the Roman Catholic Church as currently manifested in the U. S. This could have been disastrous in less deft hands; but his is no diatribe, no scoring of specious points. Indeed, many religious people — and even intelligent Catholics, though they will take issue with the implied conclusions— will find the book more interesting than many agnostics and atheists.

Lardner's Owen Muir is a young American of the comfortable class with courage and a brain, whose over-active thyroids drive him to disaster in the search for Absolute Truth to make moral sense of immoral social patterns. He samples Tolstoyan pacifism and socialism but eventually, falling in lover with a Catholic charmer named April, swallows the faith of Monsignor Sheen whole.

OVERDOSE OF DOGMA: A flash of "revelation" after mass at St. Patrick's seems to bring him peace of soul; the complete dogmatism of the Church seems a way out from his agony of indecision. But from that moment he and his love are doomed; his conscience, which refuses to stop working, is caught in the contradiction between his new faith and the sordid realities in which the Church is an active participant. The hard-drinking, successful - young - businessman set of which he tries to be part are a pack of genuflecting hypocrites; and the dogma, no matter how skilfully distorted, cannot charm away the essential immorality of the way they make their money and maintain themselves as a privileged class.

The ultimate "logic" of the anti-logic he has embraced as a salvation is fascist-type violence (in a chillingly realistic episode at the Robeson concert at Peekskill). And when his pregnant wife faces death if she bears his child, the Faith as the theologians prescribe it demands that he become in effect an accessory before the fact of murdering the one he loves.

Unable to settle quietly for compromise solutions as April and the others do, he loses both wife and money, clinging more and more futilely to the abstract absolute. The final "logic" for him is self-flagellation in a monastery.

SATIRE WITH PITY: Into this tapestry are woven human threads of many and vivid colors: an FBI agent in the Communist Party, who in a startling scene brings about the final rupture between

RING LARDNER JR.
The observation was acute

Owen and April; the agent's indomitably progressive mother whom he betrays to a jail sentence; a fascist "intellectual" dedicated to the "logic" of hatred; a pompous liberal who starts as a "reforming" prison warden and ends as an embezzler.

With a true novelist's skill— and a tenderness in his stinging satire more reminiscent of Anatole France than Aldous Huxley—Lardner has allowed them all to be themselves and hold the stage with their own rationalizations. This is especially and most admirably true of his depiction of assorted Catholic types through whom his comment on that Church in America is implicit; April's stupidly intolerant mother; the comparatively "sensible" parish priest; the streamlined, smooth - tongued, "famous" Monsignor; and finally the "practical" April, who refuses to let the Faith ruin her appetite for life and whose compromises with it for self-fulfilment make her intensely and most attractively human. Lardner runs rings around most progressive American writers in endowing with warmth the character of a woman in love; and he rightly does not feel he must make this three-dimensional female end up by quitting the Church.

Here is a contemporary comedy to think about and discuss as well as to delight in. One puts it down with the certitude that this first-novelist has not shot his bolt, pleasurably anticipating what he will give us next.

THE ECSTASY OF OWEN MUIR, by Ring Lardner Jr. Cameron & Kahn, New York, 302 pp., $3; January Liberty Book Club selection (100 W. 23d St., N.Y.C. 11), $1.89 to members.